

Message Text

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02228 01 OF 03 130122Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 ARA-10 EA-07 NEA-10 TRSE-00 DHA-02
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SSO-00 /118 W

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O P 130019Z JUL 77

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4449
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USUN 2228

GENEVA FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, SF, WA

SUBJECT: REVISED WESTERN FIVE TALKING POINTS FOR THE SAG

REF: (A) USUN 2206; (B) PRETORIA 3423 (NOTAL)

1. IN MEETING OF WESTERN FIVE ON JULY 12, GROUP AGREED ON
A DOZEN CHANGES TO THE TEXT IN REF. A FOR SUBMISSION TO CAPI-
TALS. GROUP ACCEPTED THE FIVE CHANGES FROM THE AMBASSADORS
OF THE FIVE IN PRETORIA (REF. B) AND ALSO MADE THE FOLLOWING
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PAGE 02 USUN N 02228 01 OF 03 130122Z

CHANGES: 1) PARA TWO, CHANGED "ALL" TO "OTHER"; 2) PARA FIVE,
ADDED ADDITIONAL SENTENCE; 3) PARA SIX, REPLACE THE FIRST SEN-
TENCE; 4) PARA SIX (A) (2), ADD "WITH THE FIVE" AND "BROADLY";
5) PARA SIX(B), ADD "JUST" BEFORE "LIKE SOUTH AFRICA";
6) PARA SIX (B) (1), REWRITE FIRST SENTENCE;
7) ADD NEW PARA EIGHT (SEE REVISED TEXT BELOW).

2. ANSWER TO QUERY IN REFTEL B, PARA TWO, CONCERNING BOTHA'S STATEMENTS IS: 1) BOTHA'S FORMAL STATEMENT IN RESPONSE TO FLEUR DE VILLIER'S ARTICLE IN SUNDAY TIMES ON TROOP WITHDRAWAL THE SUNDAY FOLLING THE SECOND ROUND OF CAPE TOWN TALKS; AND 2) BOTHA'S PRESS STATEMENT AT THE UNITED NATIONS.

3. USUN AGREED TO ACT AS RAPPORTEUR, SO REQUEST US EM-BASSIES IN BONN, OTTAWA, LONDON AND PARIS PASS THE REVISED TEXT (BELOW) TO THE APPROPRIATE OFFICE IN HOST FOREIGN MINISTRIES (FRG MISSION SUGGESTED MR. MUELLER IN SECTION 312 IN BONN, AND CANADIAN MISSION SUGGESTED MR. FRANCIS IN UNO). ALSO, THIS WILL BE ONLY TEXT GOING TO PRETORIA FOR THE FIVE.

4. REVISED TEXT FOLLOWS:

QUOTE

INSTRUCTIONS FOR PRETORIA AMBASSADORS

WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, THE CONTACT GROUP'S AMBASSADOR SHOULD BE INSTRUCTED TO DESCRIBE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTRY THE PRESENT STATE OF THEIR GOVERNMENT' EFFORTS ON NAMIBIA. THE POINT WOULD BE TO DEMONSTRATE TO SOUTH AFRICA THE DIFFICULTY THE CONTACT GROUP IS HAVING IN MAINTAINING CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 USUN N 02228 01 OF 03 130122Z

MOMENTUM. IN THAT CONNECTION, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF POINTS ON WHICH THE CONTACT GROUP MUST HVE A MORE EXPLICIT RESPONSE FROM THE SOUTH AFRICA GOVERNMENT IF WE ARE TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARDS ACHIEVING AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. MORE SPECIFICALLY, THE PRESENTATION WOULD AIM(1) TO CAUTION THE SOUTH AFRICANS AGAINST PREMATURE INSTALLATION OF AN ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL, (2) TO CAUTION THE SOUTH AFRICANS AGAINST USING THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE FIVE AS JUSTIFICATION FOR UNILATERAL ACTION UPON WHICH THE FIVE HAVE NOT HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT IN ADVANCE, AND (3) TO ELICIT FROM THE SOUTH AFRICANS THEIR PLANS FOR A PHASED WITHDRAWAL.

THE PRESENTATION WOULD BE MADE TO FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA, IF POSSIBLE, OR TO DIRECTOR GENERAL FOURIE AND ON JULY 13 OR 14 AT THE LATEST.

TALKING POINTS

1. OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE ASKED US TO BRING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT UP TO DATE ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CONTACT GROUP SINCE THE CLOSE OF THE SECOND CAPE TOWN TALKS ON JUNE 10.

2. FOLLOWING THOSE TALKS, VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP ORALLY BRIEFED VARIOUS NAMIBIAN POLITICAL FACTIONS, INCLUDING SWAPO BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE NAMIBIA. IN ADDITION, AN ACCOUNT OF THE TALKS WAS GIVEN TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, THE FRONTLINE STATES, NIGERIA, THE COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA, MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND OTHER AFRICAN STATES.

3. IN EACH CASE, THE CONTENT OF THE BRIEFING TOOK INTO ACCOUNT THE PARTICULAR INTERESTS OF THE PARTY INVOLVED AND THE OBJECTIVE OF ENCOURAGING AN EARLY SETTLEMENT CONSISTENT WITH THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385. THE MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP ALSO HAD IN MIND THE NEED TO ENSURE THAT THE OAU

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PAGE 04 USUN N 02228 01 OF 03 130122Z

HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN LIBREVILLE WELL UNDERSTOOD THE CONTACT GROUP'S OBJECTIVES SO THAT THE EFFORTS OF THE OAU AND ITS MEMBERSHIP WOULD SUPPORT OR AT LEAST NOT IMPEDE THOSE OBJECTIVES.

4. THOSE PARTIES MAINLY CONCERNED SEEM PREPARED TO SEE US CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS. ON THIS POINT, THE ATTITUDE OF SWAPO WAS MOST AUTHORITATIVELY CHARACTERIZED BY IDENTICAL LETTERS DATED JUNE 22 FROM SAM NUJOMA TO MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP WHICH READ IN PART "SWAPO APPRECIATES THE EFFORTS OF THE CONTACT GROUP AND URGES ALL OTHER STATES MEMBERS OF THE U.N. TO FACILITATE INDIVIDUALLY OR COLLECTIVELY THE SUCCESS OF THIS UNDERTAKING". OUR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT DISCUSSIONS AND DECISIONS OF THE OAU SUMMIT PUT NO OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF THE INITIATIVE OF THE FIVE.

5. AS A NEXT STEP, MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP HAVE INVITED NUJOMA AND MEMBERS OF SWAPO'S NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO NEW YORK FOR DISCUSSIONS. ON THE BASIS OF PRELIMINARY CONTACTS WITH SWAPO, WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THE TALKS WILL CONVEY IN NEW YORK SOME TIME IN JULY. IN ADDITION, WE PLAN A FURTHER APPROACH TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO URGE HIS EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF A PLAN FOR A UN PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA.

6. WHILE WE FULLY RECOGNIZE THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS MOVED TOWARDS MEETING THE CONDITIONS FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT, OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER PARTIES HAVE REVEALED A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS, INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR:

- THE JURIDICAL PROBLEM WHICH COMPLICATES THE WHOLE TASK OF SECURING AGREEMENT FOR A UN INVOLVEMENT; AND

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02228 02 OF 03 130147Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 USUN 2228

GENEVA FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

THE GENERAL SCEPTICISM THAT GREE ELECTIONS CA
BE HELD IN THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS.

(A) THE JURIDICAL PROBLEM. THE LEGAL CONTRADCTIONS
BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND SOUTH
AFRICA ARE INHIBITING THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE SECRETARY-
GENERAL. IT IS BEING ARGUED THAT FOR THE SECRETARY-
GENERAL EVEN TO APPOINT A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO WORK IN
COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO
RECOGNITION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POSITION AND RENUNCIATION
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PAGE 02 USUN N 02228 02 OF 03 130147Z

OF THAT OF THE UNITED NATIONS. IT IS ALSO ARGUED THAT
ULTIMATE CONTROL MUST BE EXERCISED BY A SPECIAL

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL. IT FOLLOWS THEREFORE THE APPOINTMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL IN ITSELF REMAINS CONTROVERSIAL; INDEED, IN TERMS OF UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS, ANY SUCH APPOINTMENT IS DE JURE UNACCEPTABLE. IT WOULD EASE THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S TASK AND POSSIBLY ASSIST IN BREAKING THE PRESENT IMPASSE IF:

(1) SOUTH AFRICA WOULD INDICATE INFORMALLY AND DISCREETLY TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL THAT IT WOULD RAISE NO OBJECTION SHOULD HE DECIDE TO APPOINT MARTTI AHTISAARI AS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.

(2) SOUTH AFRICA WOULD ACCEPT THAT THE RESPECTIVE DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD BE FULLY DISCUSSED WITH THE FIVE AND BROADLY AGREED UPON BEFORE PROMULGATION OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL'S MANDATE AND THAT THESE TWO OFFICIALS SHOULD TAKE UP THEIR DUTIES IN WINDHOEK AT THE SAME TIME.

(B) THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY PRESENCE. THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IS A MAJOR AREA OF DISPUTE. IT IS ARGUED THAT FREE ELECTIONS CANNOT BE HELD AS LONG AS SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES REMAIN IN NAMIBIA. EVEN AS REGARDS A PHASED WITHDRAWAL IT IS BEING ARGUED THAT IT IS TOO MUCH TO EXPECT OTHERS TO RENOUNCE THEIR MILITARY CAPABILITY AS LONG AS ANY SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES REMAIN IN THE TERRITORY SINCE OTHERS CONCERNED JUST LIKE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE UNDERSTANDABLY FEARFUL OF THE RISKS IN THE CASE OF A BREAKDOWN IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. INDEED, SUGGESTIONS HAVE BEEN MADE THAT A U.N. FORCE MIGHT BE REQUIRED TO BALANCE OR REPLACE THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA. THE

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PAGE 03 USUN N 02228 02 OF 03 130147Z

FIVE ARE OF THE VIEW THAT DEVISING THE MEANS TO MEET THESE CONCERNS WILL PROVE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT. RECENT STATEMENTS BY FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA TEND TO IMPLY THAT THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WILL NOT START UNTIL A NEW NAMIBIAN GOVERNMENT TAKES POWER. THIS APPROACH IS NOT ACCEPTABLE IN THE VIEW OF THE FIVE WHO MADE IT CLEAR DURING THE LAST ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS THAT WITHDRAWAL SHOULD TAKE PLACE PROGRESSIVELY THROUGHOUT THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD BEGINNING WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL.

(1) THE FIVE ARE OF THE VIEW THAT IF THEIR INITIATIVE IS TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA COMMUNICATE TO THEM AT AN EARLY DATE A SCHEDULE FOR A PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES FROM NAMIBIA. SUCH A SCHEDULE SHOULD INVOLVE EARLY AND SUBSTANTIAL TROOP REDUCTIONS WHICH WOULD BEGIN CONCURRENTLY WITH

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE INSTALLATION OF THE U.N.
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. FURTHERMORE THEY SHOULD
INDICATE THEIR WILLINGNESS
TO HAVE U.N. OBSERVERS PRESENT WITH SUCH FORCES AS
REMAIN DURING THE POLITICAL PROCESS SO THAT THE U.N.
CAN BE SATISFIED THAT THEREIS NO INTERFERENCE IN
THAT PROCESS.

7. THERE ARE TWO ADDITIONAL MATTER WHICH THE CONTACT
GROUP WISH TO MENTION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AT THIS
STAGE. BOTH WERE THE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSIONS AT THE SECOND ROUND
OF TALKS IN CAPT TOWN:

(A) THE FIRST RELATES TO THE TIMING OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS.
THE MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP RECALL PRIME MINISTER
VORSTER'S STATEMENT THAT HE WOULD PROPOSE THAT ELECTIONS BE
HELD BY 31 DECEMBER 1977. IN RESPONSE, THE MEMBERS OF THE
CONTACT GROUP SAID THAT
MORE TIME WOULD BE NECESSARY TO ACCOMPLISH THE PRELIMINARY
TASKS OF ENSURING A PROPER CLIMATE FOR FREE AND FAIR
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PAGE 04 USUN N 02228 02 OF 03 130147Z

ELECTIONS; E.G., THE REPEAL OF DISCRIMINATORY AND RESTRICTIVE
LAWS AND THE DRAFTING OF ELECTORAL LEGISLATION, THE RETURN OF
NAMBIANS, THE RELEASE OF DETAINEES AND POLITICAL PRISONERS AND ORGAN-
IZATION AND CONDUCT OF THE CAMPAIGN. THE FURTHER THINKING OF THE
CONTACT GROUP CONFIRMS THEIR INITIAL REACTION. IN THEIR VIEW
IT WOULD BE UNFORTUNATE IF THE PARTIES PRIMARILY CONCERNED
IN THE SOLUTION OF THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM WERE TO REJECT A
SOLUTION BECAUSE THE PERIOD FOR THE ELECTORAL PROCESS WAS
INADEQUATE.

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02228 03 OF 03 130152Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 USUN 2228

GENEVA FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

(B) SECONDLY, THE MEMBER OF THE CONTACT GROUP WOULD WISH TO REITERATE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA, A POINT MADE AT CAPETOWN WITH REGARD TO DETAINEES. IN THEIR VIEW, IT WOULD IMPROVE THE CHANCES FOR ACCEPTABILITY OF THE PROPOSALS IF AN EARLY DATE COULD BE SET FOR THE RELEASE OF DETAINEES. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD KNOW THAT CONTACT GROUP SPOKESMEN INFORMED THE GOVERNMENT OF ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA THAT THEY CONSIDERED THE CALL FOR THE RELEASE OF NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS APPLIED TO ALL SUCH PRISONERS WHEREVER HELD.

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PAGE 02 USUN N 02228 03 OF 03 130152Z

8. IN GENERAL, IT IS IMPORTANT IN THE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE FIVE AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THAT AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE BE MAINTAINED. IT WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH THIS APPROACH IF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WERE TO USE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE FIVE AS JUSTIFICATION FOR UNILATERAL ACTION UPON WHICH THE FIVE HAVE NOT HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT IN ADVANCE. UNQUOTE

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Message Attributes

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